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peril—I dara not how many wars of a foreign or domestic nature—I know of no pathway on which light will stream, I know of no compact which light will atteam, I know of no company that points to the North star of our deliverance, I know of no rudder that can guide the ship into a safe harbor, except the spirit and power of the Constitution. [Lond cheers.] Don't ask me to let any one map, or any one mind, speak in the place of it.

On the question of slavery, or any other of the constitution of slavery, or any other of philosophy and wisdom. You may not see

subject, you and Fean know what our Govern-ment is by reading the Constitution; but if our Government is simply in Mr. Loncola's mind, and he can issue a proclamation, interfering not war upon the decrees of Divine Providence; and with personal liberty, and destroying the rights leave that for the blasphomous Abolitionists — of citizens, then you and I can not see our Government at all, it is a dark thing instead of the Beechers, the Phillipses the Cod. Take being light. According to my think leave that the Beechers, the Phillipses the Cod. being light. According to my thinking, your Constitution is power, it is wisdom, glory, it is prosperity, it is Union, and it alone is Union.—
[Cheers.] Abolition is disunion as much as is [Cheers.] Abolition is disunion as much as is secession; both are disunion, the one and the other both attempting to destroy the Constitution. [Cries of "That's so."] If you take one word, may one letter of this hallowed instrument, and throw it into the scale, and throw into the other Lincoln, Stanton, Butler, Welles, Fremont, and the pondreus carcass of Brough, throw them all in, and Burnside too, and also Captain Cuite, [laughter] one word of the Constitution for wisdom, for power, for restoration of the Union, for the diffusion of happiness and liberty once more over the land, will outweigh alias Smath, alias Tompkins, we know he must every one of them. [Loud cheer,] Put not be a great thier, for an honest man does not your trust in Princes, but put your trust in change his name. The old Democratic party written laws, in the Constitution, in the sovereign majesty of the people. But they say again that slavery ought to be abolished; that it is a this Republican party has acted so bedly, and great crime and a sin. A word or two on that got its name into such disrepute, that every

country; but upon that point I sometimes think since is just this: You might call them any that God has a wisdom and purpose in all this, ame you please, and, however good, they and I sometimes think that God's purpose is an would make it so odious by their bad conduct in a year, that nobody would join them. You may these two races, as the Abolitionies's is. I know call us any amount of bad names, but by our these two races, as the Abolitionist's is. I know the the Architionists don't think so, but I do. [Laughter.] The black man comes here from his home in the African wilds, as a barbarian of the desert; and to-day it is a solemn fact, and that ought not to be lost sight of, that more black men and women have been converted to Christianity, and lived and died as Christians in the Southern States of this Union, than have that the men who have left it lie about it, and that the men who have left it lie about it, and the will never admit that he has left the Democratic party. It is so good tonguet we are acceptable to all mankind. [faughter and cheers.] Did you ever hear of a man leaving left the Democratic party—trying them by their own Democracy. Ask the man himself, and he will never admit that he has left the Democratic party. It is so good tonguet we are acceptable to all mankind. [faughter and cheers.] Did you ever hear of a man leaving left the Democratic party. ever been converied to the Christian faith by all the missionary labors in all the four quarters of the globe, and in all the islands of the sea put together; so that I sometimes think that this poor, helpiess, dependent race has had the hand of Providence. that this poor, helpless, dependent race has had the hand of Providence over it. But the idea litionist Bincham addressed his hearens as of its being vaised to an equality with the white man, never entered the mind of God, that made him, any more than it enters yours or mine, They come and tell us that we must abolish slavery by proclamation, and that the white man must work and pay taxes to bus it out of svery State. And what for? I've make a sol-dier out of him. And what will come next? After he has been a soldier and returned a

of the United States. [Cries of "He shall never be."] But he has so decided, and after a time it will be inelated that the black man shall enjoy all the rights of citizenship. That will be the next issue upon you. Are you ready for that, men of Ohlo? [Cries of "Never, Never."] I have no hostility to the black man in his place; rein all be."] But he has so decided, and after a time it will be insisted that the black man shall enjoy all the rights of citizenship. That will be the next issue upon you. Are you ready for that, men of Ohio? [Cries of "Never, Never."] I have no hostility to the black man in his place; I feel kindly toward him. I don's uphold elsowery for the purpose of grinding him, or laying a burden upon his shoulders. On the contrary, I stand by the wisdom of our forefathers, that made slavery a part of the Constitution, because it was wiscest and best, for the black man as well as the white man, that it should be so.

I appeal to the history of the world upon this I did not believe in their professions. You will

question. Go where you may, you will find no two races, one inferior and the other superior, that ever coalesced, and combined their power that ever coalesced, and combined their power in the civil policy of any government, without degrading the superior sace, and dragging it down to the level with that of the interior race. Indeed, the attempt to make the black man equal with the white man will never raise the black man; it will only dreg down the white many this is a fact. These Abolitionists come round here and say: "Why, the black man, he is a man and a brother; he has got eyes and a mouth; he can talk; he walks upright. God made and gave him a soul—all this I believe and sometimes believe that these negroes have better

vuitures eat them both up together. Now, if the Abalition party get these negroes upon the been the murderer of your countrymen-backs of the white eagle of this country, they been the murderer of your gallant soldier

of philosophy and wisdom. You may not see the Providence of God working to suit you, but adventurers. They get an idea that a thing ought to be so, and when they get that into it; it must be so. These Abolitiouists tell you that by this Abolition policy they intend to re-store the Union, and that is the way alone in which it can be done. When Congress met in 1861, the cry went out all over the land, we must have no party. Before it had been every kind of party; a Temperance party, a Maine-law party, the People's party, a Fusion party, a Republican party, and at last they got to be of no party at all. Like a man who is taken up for stealing, and gives his name as John Brown, alias Smith, alias Tompkins, we know he must change his name. The old Democratic party has the same name and the same principles, and has had for sixty or seventy years. But year or so it has to get a new name. They call us Butternuts and Copperheads. The difference is just this: You might call them any

litionist Bingham addressed his hearers as 'Fellow-Democrats," and all of them, I have The name is so good that it is like the devil atter being kicked out of heaven, claiming to be an angel still. So Bingham, talking to his "Fellow-Democrats," was about as proper as the devil addressing Gabriel and other angels, dier out of him. And what will come next?

After he has been a soldier and returned a hero of many fields of glory—though Lincoln said himself they could cat and that was all—when they come nome it will be said, these men have fought for you, for that by jary, for the right of voting by bailot, for your civil institutions; and the next thing will be, you will be told you have no right to exclude them from the enjoyment of the privileges of cittzenship. Indeed, Mr. Bates, the Attorney General, has already decided that the black man is a citizen of the United States. [Crics of "He shall never the devil addressing Gabriel and other angels, as his comrades still. These renegades and traitors wear the closk of Democracy to deceive the people. You remember Esop's fable of the jackass getting into the lion's skin, and going reaming about and alarming all the beasts of the field. The lion's skin was used like the stolen name of Democracy; but when the fools of more than the provileges of cittzenship. Indeed, Mr. Bates, the Attorney General, has already decided that the black man is a citizen of the United States. [Crics of "He shall never Code the people. You remember Esop's fable of the jackass getting into the lion's skin, and going reaming about and alarming all the beasts of the field. The lion's skin was used like the stolen name of Democracy; but when the fools of the privileges of cittzenship. In deed, Mr. Bates, the Attorney General, has already decided that the black man is a citizen of the United States. [Crics of "He shall never the constant of the provileges of citizenship.] but did you ever see one, when he got out, claim that he was still a Republican? He thanks God that he is clear of the whole thing, name

I appeal to the history of the world upon this uestion. Go where you may, you will find no find that in the extra session, and in the long two races, one inferior and the other superior, session, no Democrat brought foward one single measure of party politics on our side of the House. But what did they do? The first thing they did, in the name of no party, was to aboliah slavery in all the territories of the United States. Said I, "hold on, that is the Chicago

dans, to the jeves with that of the inferior services of the inferior services. It does do to be a service of the inferior services of the inferior services of the inferior services of the inferior services, the inferior services of the inferior services, the service of the inferior services of the inferior services, the service of the inferior services of the inferior shall service services of the inferior services of the inferior shall service services of the inferior services of the inferior shall service servic

declare to you that this Abolition policy has has prolonged this war—has embittered this contest, and has cost one hundred thousand lives altogether, that would not have been laid lown but for it; while the Southern man fought harder for it, as he says to himself: "Here is the Confignation Act; under it I have nothing left—no ground even on which to be buried—no place to plant the corn for myself, my wife and my children; we must be beggare, if ever I go back into the Union under that law. And here's the President's Proclamation: the Beechers, the Phillipses, the Garrisons — that liberates and arms the black man, and They have the crude notions of pretenders and gives him his freedom forever, to be on terms than accept such an unconstitutional position, I can just do one better thing, and that is to fight and to die." The result is, that the Abolitionist, instead of being the friend of the soldier, is his worst and biggest enemy—the mur-derer of the soldier; instead of being the friends of the army, they are the very destroy-ers of those gallant soldiers that go forth eve-ry few months from your borders. But, gen-tlemen, I verily believe, that if, on the other hand, a fraternal and wise policy had been pur-sued towards these revolted States, we should

For instance, take Tennessee. Suppose when our armies had got possession, Liucoin had told her: "I have now got a chance to talk to you; you have done wrong, but you have been misled by had leaders; come back into the old Union, and you shall have it makes and the misled had been as a suppose of the misled by had leaders; come back into the old Union, and you shall have it unchanged, the same un-changed old Union; the same house your fathers built stands open for your return. Had that been done, my fellow-citizens, they would have come back. The people there do not want war, and you shall have it unchanged, the same unchanged old Union; the same house your fathers built stands open for your return." Had that been done, my fellow-citizens, they would have come back. The people there do not want war, any more than you do; but they have been led to believe by Yancey, Jeff. Davis, and the bad disministiate of the South, that the Northern doing it, if you want further help, we will income to be the same of the South, that the Northern doing it, if you want further help, we will income to be the same of the south, that the Northern doing it, if you want further help, we will income the same of the south, that the Northern doing it, if you want further help, we will income the same of the same men wanted to abolish their institutions, in order to take their property, and just what they were afficial of has been done. If, instead of that, they had been guaranteed all the rights; instead of having them torn from them by a President's proclamation, State after State withdrawn, they will riselegale, but subducthem by reason, subducthem by argument, by kind-ness, instead of by brute violence, and you have one of the best and strongess Governments that can be conceived of, based, as is is, upon the consent of the governed, just as your forefathers

But if you subdue the whole South, by running your armies over it, you will have to keep a standing army there of 500,000 men, and you will have to work to support that standing army. You might as well expect a permanent Union to result from this as to put your stick into the water, and expect, on withdrawing it, to find the hele there still, as to expect that, on withdrawing your arms, they will not rise and struggle for freedom again. On this question of Abolition policy, the Southern people, right or wrong, will fight as long as mothers continue to bear children; the children will rise up to bear arms against this Government, because it is human nature that it should be so. In all the history of the world, where has been the nation or th of the world, where has been the nation or the people that has succumbed to mere force, inhabiting a vast country, such as the Southern people inhabit, peopled by as brave a race as the Southern people are, blood of your blood, bone of your bone, speaking the same language, bound by tice of kindred, and worshiping the same God? They are the same people; they will do just what you would do under similar directions.

I declare myself to day devoted to the last hour of my life, to restoring this beloved Union; but my plan is not the plan of the Aboliticulars. My plan would be to accompany the armice with the power of reason as well as the power of the sword. I heard your gallant candidate for Governor in the hall of Congress propose, by resolution, to send five Commissioners along with your armies, to make overtures, or to sected to oversures, from such States as desired to

Che Ohio Statesman

| Constitution | air months there that be no more slaughter, no children weeping for the return of their lathers, no mother left spildless; if no mother left spildless; if no mothers during that time took their little ones upon their kness and told, them in the bistorness of their broken hearts; "Your father comes no more forever. We go to him, but he comes no more forever. We go to him, but he comes no more to us." Such a six months bright ploture to Abolitionists, but a sad picture to you, to all lovers of picture for God and angels to enjoy in heave itself, it peace on earth and good will toward men were brought back, and stop by seep this old Union would be restored on the basis on which it was made—the consent of the gov-

Gentlemen of the Democratic party, you and can review our course upon this en pride. We wasted to compromise when com-promise was possible, before a blow was struck. Crittenden brought it forward; Douglas advo-cated it; you and I raid yes; but there men wanted blood, and blood is upon their bands and upon their skirts. If we think we have to go to war hereafter, I would try some other means before war game. But war game, and during the war we have stood by our Government and by our armice in the field. We have done our whole day, and we ask in return to be allowed to enjoy the priviliges of free-born American cit sens; and I deduce in the vace of danger, de A hand all consequences, that wile to we need may avail up an exist and allowed consequences. er parli may a wait us, we intend yet to maintain the eardent rights of free born cluzous. Cheers Go on; stand shoulder to shoulder; elect Val-landigham. [Cheera] If he is your choice, who shall say nay? If you want him for Governor, are you going to ask Lincoln whether he will let you have him? [Lond c:les of "No never."]

vite our wives over, and the young folks will come along with them and have a froit at night; and the next day we will go to church to return thanks to Almighty God that Ohio is once more a free State in this Union. [Loud and authusiastic cheers.]

AUTUMN. 1863.

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